



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

But whatever the defects which a friendly or an unfriendly criticism may point out either in the foundation or superstructure of our institutions, in the organic law, or the details of legislation, the general result of the system is obvious. The generation of our countrymen now passing off the stage of action are nearly as old as the government under which they live; yet what prodigies have they witnessed! They have seen our boundaries enlarged, our resources developed, our weakness converted into strength, and our power acknowledged and respected by the most distant nations. Our territory, which even at the outset was deemed by European statesmen too vast and extended, is now washed by the waters of two oceans; capacious harbors indent its shores; immense rivers bear the products of thriving industry to the seas; populous towns and cities are scattered over the land; thought is unshackled, education diffused, and liberty insured. With a vast confederation of States, comprising every variety of climate, soil, and production, with innumerable cities, the natural centres of commerce, manufactures, and arts, with immense lines of railway stretching across the continent from ocean to ocean, and with such an administration of the government as will give us contentment at home and respect abroad, we shall present to the world an instance of beneficent power unparalleled in the annals of mankind.

ART. IV. — *Correspondence of CHARLES, first MARQUIS CORNWALLIS.* Edited, with Notes, by CHARLES ROSS, ESQ. London: John Murray. 1859. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. xvi. and 560, 577, 621.

LORD CORNWALLIS played a conspicuous part in the history of three continents. In the American war he held an independent command in this country; and after ravaging the Southern Colonies he closed his career here by the capitulation of Yorktown. Returning to England, he was subsequently appointed Governor-General of India, where he gained several

victories over Tippoo Saib, and effected an administrative reform known in Indian history as the Zemindar Settlement. At a little later period he was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and was a principal instrument in bringing about the legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland. When Pitt resigned the premiership, and the Addington Ministry entered into negotiations with Bonaparte, Lord Cornwallis was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to conclude the definitive treaty of peace; and shortly afterward he was again made Governor-General of India. His correspondence, therefore, has a breadth of interest which commends it to special notice; and in regard to several subjects it possesses the highest value. The sources from which Mr. Ross has gathered this immense and precious collection are very numerous, embracing the family papers at Audley End, the seat of Lord Braybrooke; the letters addressed to the editor's father and Lord Cornwallis's most intimate friend, Lieutenant-General Ross; the papers at the India House; the documents in the State Paper Office, to some of which "no person had previously been allowed access"; the papers preserved in Dublin Castle; numerous manuscript volumes in the library of the British Institution; and other "private papers and letters in the possession of various individuals." Many other collections were also submitted to him; "but upon investigation it appeared that such documents as might have thrown additional light on the history of those times, and especially of the Union, had been purposely destroyed. For instance, after a search instituted at Welbeck by the kindness of the Duke of Portland, it was ascertained that the late Duke had burnt all his father's political papers from 1780 to his death. In like manner the Chancellor Lord Clare, Mr. Wickham, Mr. King, Sir Herbert Taylor, Sir Edward Littlehales, Mr. Marsden, the Knight of Kerry, and indeed almost all the persons officially concerned in carrying the Union, appear to have destroyed the whole of their papers. Mr. Marsden, by whom many of the arrangements were concluded, left a manuscript book containing invaluable details, which was burnt only a few years ago by its then possessor." In this paucity of trustworthy documents for elucidating the history of a transaction of such importance, the Cornwallis Corre-

spondence assumes a still greater value, and must be regarded as one of the most important contributions recently made to historical literature in England.

Mr. Ross has confined his editorial labors almost entirely to the addition of numerous biographical notes relative to the different personages to whom the letters are addressed, or who are mentioned in them. His notes amount to more than two thousand in number, and doubtless contain some noticeable errors; but we have not found it necessary for our present purpose to verify their statements except in a few instances. He has also connected the different sections of the work by such brief explanatory remarks as are needful to give unity to the volumes. But every reader must experience a feeling of regret that the editor's plan did not include a life of Lord Cornwallis, as well as a selection from his public and private letters. In strictly biographical details the volumes are sadly deficient.

In dealing with American affairs in his notes and in his illustrative remarks, Mr. Ross commits numerous blunders, and exhibits that narrowness and illiberality which are too often shown by English writers in speaking of the loss of the Colonies. Thus, after accusing Franklin of discreditable conduct in regard to the publication of the letters of Hutchinson to Thomas Whateley, he revives in a foot-note the often-refuted story about Franklin's dress at the signing of the peace of Versailles. "This speech," he says, referring to Wedderburn's speech before the Privy Council, "was never forgotten nor forgiven by Franklin, who carefully preserved the velvet coat he happened to wear on the occasion, and put it on again the day he signed the preliminaries of peace in 1783."* After Mr. Sparks's very satisfactory refutation of this ridiculous story, it is scarcely necessary to add a word upon the subject; and in regard to the much more serious charge relative to the publication of Hutchinson's letters, we do not hesitate to deny the validity of all the inferences usually drawn by English writers. There is not a particle of evidence for supposing that Franklin obtained the letters dishonestly, that he violated any

* Vol. I. p. 18, note 6.

one's confidence in transmitting them to this country, or that he connived at their subsequent publication. In another place Mr. Ross speaks of Greene, the ablest of all the generals who served under Washington, as "coarse in his manners and harsh in his conduct,"* — an assertion quite equal to Lord Stanhope's discovery that Greene was a drunkard, of which curious blunder notice was taken in a former number of this journal. Again, he says that the Loyalists in the Carolinas "were persecuted by the Rebels in the most cruel manner, and not unfrequently murdered, under circumstances of savage barbarity."† The war in the Southern Colonies was undoubtedly marked by a greater degree of asperity than was seen elsewhere, but not to the extent asserted by Mr. Ross; and it owed this character in no small degree to the express orders of Lord Cornwallis himself. On the 18th of August, 1780, his Lordship wrote to Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger: —

"I have given orders that all the inhabitants of this Province, who had *submitted*, and who have taken part in this revolt, should be punished with the greatest rigor, that they should be imprisoned, and their whole property taken from them or destroyed; I have likewise directed that compensation should be made out of their effects to the persons who have been *plundered* and oppressed by them. I have ordered in the most positive manner, that every militia-man who had borne arms with us, and who had afterwards joined the enemy, should be immediately hanged. I have now, Sir, only to desire that you will take the most *vigorous* measures to *extinguish the rebellion* in the district in which you command, and that you will obey in the strictest manner the directions I have given in this letter, relative to the treatment of the country." — Vol. I. pp. 56, 57.

By some means, the substance of this letter was communicated to Washington, who promptly addressed a letter on the subject to Sir Henry Clinton. A correspondence ensued, a portion of which is printed in the seventh volume of Mr. Sparks's edition of Washington's Writings, and there are a few additional letters in the volumes before us. But it is important to notice that Lord Cornwallis did not change his policy; and the numerous acts of cruelty and oppression wan-

* Vol. I. p. 75, note 1.

† Ibid. p. 70.

tonly committed under these and similar instructions were well suited to aggravate the animosity of the patriots, and to produce a bitter retaliation.

In another place, when speaking of the court-martial which tried André, Mr. Ross takes occasion to say, "that among the members of the court by which he was tried were two foreigners, ignorant of the English language, and several of the coarsest and most illiterate of the American generals"; and he adds, "In any case, the execution of that officer leaves an indelible blot on the character of Washington."* In answer to this it is enough to say, that the two foreigners referred to, Baron Steuben and Lafayette, had both been in the country long enough to acquire a thorough knowledge of the English language, — the former having landed at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on the 1st of December, 1777, nearly three years before the trial, and the latter at Charleston, South Carolina, a few months earlier; that the remaining twelve officers who composed the court were among the most intelligent and kindly men in the army; that the President, Nathanael Greene, was a man of singular clearness and force of judgment; and that André himself admitted to Hamilton, who was much with him in his last hours, that he had been treated by the court with liberality and politeness; and to quote Hamilton's own words, "he acknowledged the generosity of the behavior towards him in every respect, but particularly in this, in the strongest terms of manly gratitude." In regard to the course pursued by Washington personally, it must be observed that the duty which he had to discharge was a very painful one. Nevertheless it was a duty. He could not, consistently with a faithful performance of his various obligations to his country, overrule the decision of the court which had adjudged "that Major André, Adjutant-General to the British army, ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy, and that, agreeably to the law and usage of nations, it is their opinion he ought to suffer death." Nor could he have interfered in any other way less open to censure. Washington's vindication must rest upon the correctness of the decision of the court as to the facts of

* Vol. I. p. 78.

the case and the law of nations applicable to them. On neither of these points do we entertain the shadow of a doubt.

In regard to one other case, — that of Captain Asgill, — Mr. Ross sharply condemns Washington's course, asserting that it "was the most unjustifiable act committed by Washington, with the exception of Major André's execution."* It is quite unnecessary, however, to enter into any discussion of this subject, which has been very fully and judiciously treated by Mr. Sparks in his *Life of Washington*; and in the eighth and ninth volumes of his edition of the *Writings of Washington* are all the letters necessary to a right understanding of the affair.

To only one other subject do we now think it necessary to refer. In speaking of the delay in the exchange of Lord Cornwallis after the surrender of Yorktown, Mr. Ross intimates that Franklin acted unfairly in the premises; and he asserts that when Washington wrote to Sir Guy Carleton, on the 30th of July, 1782, communicating to him the resolution of Congress ordering the immediate return of Lord Cornwallis to the United States, "unless the Honorable Henry Laurens, Esq. be forthwith released from his captivity, and furnished with passports to any part of Europe or America, at his option, or be admitted to a general parole," and adding that he had "the fullest expectation of Lord Cornwallis's immediate return to the United States, unless the conditions mentioned in the act of Congress are complied with," — Congress "*must* have previously heard" of the release of Mr. Laurens.† Against a supposition which bears such evident marks of absurdity on its face, we shall not condescend to argue. Having involved himself in these difficulties in regard to a very simple matter, Mr. Ross finally remarks: "Whether the Americans were actuated by petty spite, or a desire to revenge themselves upon the most active general who had been opposed to them, or whether they were swayed by some unknown political reasons, it is of course impossible to say."‡ Upon this subject two observations seem to be necessary; and in regard to the part which Franklin took, it is sufficient to

* Vol. I. p. 138.

† Ibid. p. 135.

‡ Ibid. p. 136.

quote his own words in a letter to Mr. Oswald, dated June 11, 1782, and printed in the ninth volume of Mr. Sparks's edition of Franklin's Writings. "I do not conceive," says Franklin, "that I have any authority, in virtue of my office here, to absolve that parole in any degree; I have therefore endeavored to found it as well as I could on the express power given me by Congress to exchange General Burgoyne for Mr. Laurens. A reservation is made of confirmation or disapprobation, not from any desire to restrain the entire liberty of that general, but because I think it decent and my duty to make such reservation, and that I might otherwise be blamed as assuming a power not given me, if I undertook to discharge absolutely a parole given to Congress, without any authority from them for so doing." It is not so easy to understand the reluctance of Congress to assent to the exchange of Lord Cornwallis, in direct opposition to the repeated advice of Washington; but it appears to have sprung partly from their wish to secure the liberation of Mr. Laurens, and partly from the strenuous resistance to his exchange by Mr. Rutledge and other Southern members, who naturally recalled with indignation the ravages perpetrated under his orders in Virginia and the Carolinas.

Leaving the field of controversial criticism, which we have not thought it necessary to extend to the sections of Mr. Ross's volumes relative to India and Ireland, we propose now to lay before our readers some account of the life and character of Lord Cornwallis, as they are exhibited in his Correspondence, and in other trustworthy publications.

Charles, first Marquis Cornwallis, was the eldest son of the first Earl of that name, and was born in Grosvenor Square, London, on the 31st of December, 1738. His mother was the daughter of Lord Townshend, and niece of Sir Robert Walpole; and upon his father's side he could trace his ancestry back to the fourteenth century, when the founder of the family held the office of Sheriff of London. At an early age he was sent to Eton; but we have no account of his school life, except the mention of an accident which caused a permanent injury to one of his eyes. While at play with a young companion, afterwards Bishop of Durham, he received

a blow which produced the obliquity of vision still to be seen in his portraits. Even at this early period, however, Lord Brome, as the boy was then called, had indicated his preference for the military profession ; and before he was eighteen he received his first commission in the English army. In the following year he obtained permission to enter the Military Academy at Turin, and he also travelled for some time on the Continent. On leaving Turin he voluntarily joined the English army at that time gathering in Germany, and was appointed aide-de-camp to Lord Granby. In this capacity he served for some time, and was present at numerous engagements, including the memorable battle of Minden. Shortly after this event he returned to England, and in January, 1760, he was elected member of Parliament for Eye in Suffolk. In the following spring he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and again repaired to the seat of war, where he remained but a short time, though long enough to take part in several slight actions. On the death of his father, in June, 1762, he succeeded to the earldom ; and in November of the same year he took his seat as a member of the House of Lords.

Lord Cornwallis seldom engaged in the discussions in Parliament, but he generally voted with Lord Temple ; and it is worth noticing, as illustrative of his political opinions, that the only protest ever signed by him was one drawn up by the latter nobleman against the passage of a resolution aimed at Wilkes. In the debates upon American affairs he did not hesitate to express his general sympathy with the Colonists, and he even voted against Lord Rockingham's Declaratory Bill. So well known were his opinions on this subject, that Horace Walpole says, in his *Last Journals*, under date of February, 1782, that Lord Cornwallis "was more in earnest in serving the cause than was consistent with his principles, which had utterly opposed and condemned it." In the mean time he made a rapid advance in professional honors and emoluments, and he was also appointed to some offices in the civil service. In July, 1768, he married Jemima Tullikens, daughter of Colonel James Jones, to whom he appears to have been much attached, and by whom he had two children, a

son and a daughter. In December, 1770, he was made Constable of the Tower, which office he held until February, 1784, and even while he was himself a prisoner of war ; and in September, 1775, he was raised to the rank of Major-General.

When the ministry determined to send over reinforcements to this country, in the vain hope of coercing the Colonists, he was appointed Lieutenant-General in America ; and on the 10th of February, 1776, he sailed from Cork at the head of seven regiments of infantry. After a long and disagreeable passage, he landed at Cape Fear early in May, and subsequently effected a junction with Sir Henry Clinton. In June, the combined armies made an unsuccessful attack on Charleston, South Carolina ; and in consequence of this failure, Sir Henry Clinton determined to relinquish further attempts on the Southern Colonies for the present, and to return to the North. Both armies accordingly re-embarked, and arrived in the bay of New York on the 1st of August. On the 22d, they landed on Long Island, to the number of nine thousand men, under command of Sir Henry Clinton, Lord Cornwallis, and several other general officers, and with forty pieces of artillery. It soon became apparent that their intention was to attack the American army intrenched at Brooklyn ; but it was not until the 27th that the anticipated battle was fought. In this important action Lord Cornwallis had command of the rear guard, and was only partially engaged. But while making an attempt to outflank the American troops he was boldly attacked by Lord Stirling, and was nearly defeated by that officer. Large reinforcements, however, having joined him, the American troops were entirely cut to pieces, and Lord Stirling himself was made prisoner. Nor was the general result less disastrous to the Americans. They were totally defeated, and more than a third of their number swelled the list of killed, wounded, and missing. Still all was not lost ; and by a wise disposition of his plans, and under cover of a thick fog, Washington was enabled to draw off the whole of his remaining forces on the evening of the 29th.

New York was now scarcely tenable ; and early in September Washington withdrew from the city, and took post in the

upper part of the island. From this point he retreated up the Hudson ; and after the fall of Fort Washington and the evacuation of Fort Lee, which was occupied by Lord Cornwallis with six thousand troops on the 20th of November, he slowly retreated through New Jersey, and finally crossed the Delaware at Trenton early in December. In the mean time the British had taken possession of the Jerseys, and Lord Cornwallis had pursued the feeble remnant of Washington's army with considerable activity. The first design of the British commander, as we learn by a letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, "extended no further than to get and keep possession of East Jersey." Accordingly Lord Cornwallis "had orders not to advance beyond Brunswick, which occasioned him to discontinue his pursuit." Subsequently, however, it was deemed advisable to continue the pursuit, and his Lordship pushed forward to the Delaware, which he reached shortly after Washington had crossed it. Here his progress was stopped by the want of boats ; and, after one or two ineffectual attempts to cross, the troops were sent into winter quarters, and their general prepared to return to England. But this intention was soon after relinquished, in consequence of the success of Washington's well-planned attack on the British and Hessians at Trenton, on the 26th of December.

Lord Cornwallis was then in New York ; but upon receiving intelligence of the disaster which had befallen the troops so recently under his command, he immediately returned to the scene of action, reaching Princeton on the night of the 1st of January. Putting himself at the head of his troops, he at once advanced on Trenton, where the American troops were now collected, in the hope of wiping out the recent disgrace. In this hope he was disappointed. By another masterly movement, Washington evaded a battle which must have proved disastrous to the American cause, and withdrew with his whole army to Princeton. This place he entered on the morning of the 3d, after a slight skirmish with a detachment of British troops on their way to reinforce Lord Cornwallis. Finding that Washington had effected his escape, and alarmed by the rumor of rapid accessions to the

American army, his Lordship hastily retreated to Brunswick, now the only post except Amboy remaining in the hands of the British,—so speedy and brilliant had been Washington's success. The two armies once more went into winter quarters; and now, to quote the happy expression of Hamilton, then in his twentieth year, but having already given proof of his marvellous powers, "was seen the spectacle of a powerful army straitened within narrow limits by the phantom of a military force, and never permitted to transgress those limits with impunity; in which skill supplied the place of means, and disposition was the substitute for an army."

Early in the following summer, and after several unimportant skirmishes, in which Lord Cornwallis had taken an active part, Sir William Howe determined to evacuate the Jerseys and make an attack on Philadelphia. With this view he embarked the greater part of his army on the 5th of July; but in consequence of unfavorable winds, he did not reach the Delaware until the 30th, and it was not until the 25th of August that he began to land, six miles below the Head of Elk. The landing was effected with but little difficulty, nor was much resistance experienced until they reached the Brandywine. Here a signal victory was gained over the American troops by Lord Cornwallis, on the 11th of September, which sealed the fate of the city. From some unexplained cause, this advantage was not followed up, and more than a fortnight elapsed before the British troops entered Philadelphia. On the 26th, Lord Cornwallis, who had been detached for the purpose, marched into the city with drums beating and colors flying, and took formal possession.

His position, however, was by no means secure, since the Americans still held the control of the Delaware and the communication with the sea. Measures were accordingly taken to dislodge them from the important forts on Red Bank and Mud Island, respectively known as Fort Mercer and Fort Mifflin. While these measures were in preparation, Washington determined to make an attack on the British camp at Germantown. In this attempt he unfortunately failed, though the moral effect was good in inspiring courage in his troops and giving the American arms reputation abroad. A few weeks

later Fort Mercer was successfully defended against a fierce assault by a picked body of Hessian troops, and their leader, Count Donop, was mortally wounded; but after a second attack the two forts were captured, one by Sir William Howe and the other by Lord Cornwallis, and the British at once secured the control of navigation. The only other important military operation in which Lord Cornwallis took part was an unsuccessful attack on Washington at White Marsh, where the American army was very strongly posted. Soon after this event his Lordship sailed for England. Through the whole of this campaign he had held a subordinate command; but it will be readily conceded that he had shown much military capacity, and had acted with zeal and energy in carrying out the orders of his superior officer.

The motive which induced his return to England at this time is not very apparent; but we are inclined to suspect that some want of harmony among the British generals suggested to him the propriety of looking after his own interests at court. It is certain, however, that on the 12th of April he received from Lord George Germaine, at that time Colonial Secretary, a dormant commission giving him the rank of General in America only, with the express purpose of securing to him the chief command "if any unforeseen accident should happen to Sir Henry Clinton"; and nine days afterward he sailed again for this country. During this short visit to England he resumed his attendance in the House of Lords, though he does not appear to have taken any active part in the discussions; and it is a significant circumstance that he was absent during all the debates on Lord North's Bill for Conciliation with America. It is believed, nevertheless, that his political opinions had undergone a change, and that he generally supported the government; and it is known that he was present at several important divisions. The last night on which he attended was on that memorable occasion when Lord Chatham made his last speech.

On his return to this country Lord Cornwallis appears to have had some difficulty with Sir Henry Clinton in regard to the future conduct of the war; and on the 17th of June, the day before the British evacuated Philadelphia, he wrote to

Lord George Germaine: "As there is great reason to apprehend, from the large detachments which Sir Henry Clinton is going to make, that no offensive measures can be undertaken against the enemy in this part of the world, I must beg that your Lordship will be so kind as to lay my most humble request before his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to permit me to return to England." This permission was refused; and in the few and inconclusive engagements during the latter part of the year, he took, as usual, an active part. But having received intelligence of the dangerous illness of Lady Cornwallis, who had suffered much from grief and anxiety at his absence, he resigned his command, and once more embarked for England. He arrived about the middle of December in the same year. Two months after his arrival Lady Cornwallis died; and for a time he seems to have withdrawn almost entirely from public business. He was, however, examined as a witness in the House of Commons before a Committee of the whole House to investigate the conduct of the war in America. He does not appear to have stated anything material in this examination, and according to Mr. Ross, he "refused to say whether he thought the movements of the troops under Sir William Howe judicious or not, and would only state generally that he had a high respect for Sir William's military talents."

Not long after the death of Lady Cornwallis, he determined to come to this country again; and early in August he landed here for the third time. Immediately on his arrival Sir Henry Clinton wrote home "to express how happy he was made by the return of Lord Cornwallis to this country." But we must not interpret this language too literally. Mortification and disgust were probably the feelings which Sir Henry experienced; for after indulging in some querulous remarks on his own disagreeable position, he closed his letter by tendering his resignation. "Thus circumstanced," he writes, "and convinced that the force under my command at present, or that will be during this campaign, is not equal to the services expected from it, I most earnestly request your Lordship to lay before his Majesty my humble supplications, that he will permit me to resign the command of this army to Lord Corn-

wallis." Doubtless this jealousy between the two principal officers contributed not a little to the final success of our arms at Yorktown.

The first expedition in which Lord Cornwallis was engaged after his arrival at New York, was that sent in the latter part of September to the relief of Governor Dalling of Jamaica, who was much alarmed for the safety of the island. A few days after the fleet had sailed, information was received of the arrival upon the coast of Georgia of a strong French fleet under Count D'Estaing, and Lord Cornwallis immediately returned to New York. After a delay of two months a new expedition set sail, on the 26th of December, 1779, for the long-projected attack on Charleston, South Carolina. The voyage was protracted and stormy; several of the vessels were lost; most of the horses for the use of the artillery and cavalry perished; and it was not until the last of January that the scattered and disabled ships were reunited at the mouth of the Savannah River. Two months more elapsed before the British army broke ground for the threatened siege of Charleston. The attack and the defence were from this time conducted with great activity; but the besieging army was too strong, too well equipped, and too ably supported by the ships of war, to leave the result doubtful. On the 12th of May the city surrendered; and shortly afterward the British troops took possession of its ruined fortifications. The exhausted garrison marched out and deposited their arms in the same manner which was observed a few months later at Yorktown. Satisfied with the success of this attack, Sir Henry Clinton returned to New York on the 5th of June, leaving Lord Cornwallis in command of the Southern army.

His first important business after Sir Henry's departure was the formation of some kind of regular government for the city and Colony, to replace that which had previously existed. For this purpose he returned from Camden, where he had been stationed, to Charleston, to make the necessary arrangements, and to prepare for an expedition into North Carolina. In the mean time, General Gates had been appointed to the command of the American troops, and had signalized his arrival in camp by beginning at once to march upon Camden. On receiving

intelligence of this movement, Lord Cornwallis immediately left Charleston to resume the command of the troops posted at Camden. He arrived there on the 13th of August, and, with characteristic energy, determined not to await an attack, but to offer battle on the first opportunity. Accordingly, on the morning of the 16th, he made a fierce attack on Gates's army. The militia, who formed the right wing of the American forces, were at once thrown into confusion; and though the regulars endeavored manfully to turn the tide of victory, the result was a total defeat. Gates did not pause in his retreat until he reached Hillsborough, a distance of one hundred and eighty miles from the scene of action. This disastrous defeat left the whole country at the mercy of the victors; but, fortunately, they were not in a condition to take advantage of it. Their delay in following up the victory enabled the defeated army to recover somewhat from the effects of the battle.

At length, on the 8th of September, his Lordship advanced towards the village of Charlotte, with the intention of establishing a strong military post there, and of attempting to overrun North Carolina. This long-cherished scheme was not to be accomplished so easily; and while he was at Charlotte, Lord Cornwallis received information which put a new aspect on the condition of affairs. On the 9th of October, a considerable body of Loyalists had been cut to pieces at King's Mountain; their leader, Major Ferguson, had been killed, and nearly the whole corps killed or taken prisoners. In consequence of this result, small as were the numbers engaged, his Lordship was compelled to relinquish his expedition, and to retreat into South Carolina. He accordingly took post at Winnsborough, where he remained inactive during the winter. In the mean time, a spirited partisan war was carried on, but without important results, though Marion, Sumpter, and others rendered their names memorable by the brilliancy of their actions, and though Colonel Tarleton, on the British side, made himself equally feared and hated for the energy with which he harried the country. On the 17th of January, another blow was struck in the total defeat of Tarleton at Cowpens by the indefatigable Morgan, who had recently been

detached to serve in the South. This battle has justly been considered as one of the most important actions in the war, since it still further weakened the British cause, and was fruitful in important results.

Two days after this memorable battle, Lord Cornwallis started in pursuit of Morgan, after destroying the greater part of his baggage and many of his wagons. The pursuit was conducted by forced marches, but by great skill and address Morgan succeeded in effecting his escape. Still his Lordship pressed forward in the hope of cutting off Morgan, or Greene, who had been appointed to the chief command of the Southern army, in place of Gates. On the 15th of March, he came up with Greene, and totally defeated him, at Guilford Court-House. Greene's force was in numbers more than double that of Cornwallis, but in every other respect it was much inferior. Many of his troops were raw recruits, who had never seen service, and who were now to make their first essay in arms against a body of well-trained veterans, led by one of the most accomplished generals in the English army. Greene did not hesitate to meet the enemy. The result, as we have said, was his defeat; but the victory proved a barren triumph to Lord Cornwallis. He could not follow up his advantage; and Greene lay for two days within ten miles of the victors, gathering up his own scattered forces. He was then ready to follow the retreating steps of the victorious enemy.

Four days after the battle, Lord Cornwallis fell back to Cross Creek, from which point he retreated to Wilmington. Here he arrived on the 7th of April, in an exhausted state, having been closely pursued by Greene, who cut off his supplies and otherwise harassed his march. His position was still very far from being pleasant, and the prospect before him was well suited to dishearten any one.

“My present undertaking sits heavy on my mind,” he says in a letter to Sir Henry Clinton, dated April 23, 1781. “I have experienced the dangers and distresses of marching some hundreds of miles in a country chiefly hostile, without one active or useful friend, without intelligence, and without communication with any part of the country. The situation in which I leave South Carolina adds much to my

anxiety, yet I am under the necessity of adopting this hazardous enterprise hastily, and with the appearance of precipitation, as I find there is no prospect of speedy reinforcements from Europe, and that the return of General Greene to North Carolina, either with or without success, would put a junction with General Phillips out of my power."

Neither his cavalry nor his infantry were in a proper condition for so great an undertaking as had been planned. The former were "in want of everything," and the latter had nothing but an ample supply of shoes. But undismayed by these difficulties, he determined to make the attempt; and two days after this letter was written he began his march for Virginia, with the hope of effecting a junction with Phillips at Petersburg. His Lordship reached that place on the 20th of May, and found Arnold, who had succeeded to the command on the death of Phillips, a week before, awaiting his arrival, and anxious to join in any measures for the destruction of the Colonies. Thence he proceeded to Williamsburg, which was reached the last of June. During this period, the depredations committed by his troops, and under his own eye, were of the most aggravated kind, and fix an indelible stain upon his character. For ten days his head-quarters were established in a house belonging to Mr. Jefferson, who has left on record some reminiscences of this occupation. In a letter to Doctor Gordon, dated July 16, 1788, and printed in the second volume of his Works, he says, Lord Cornwallis "destroyed all my growing crops of corn and tobacco; he burned all my barns, containing the same articles of the last year, having first taken what corn he wanted; he used, as was to be expected, all my stock of cattle, sheep, and hogs, for the sustenance of his army, and carried off all the horses capable of service; of those too young for service he cut the throats; he burned all the fences on the plantation, so as to leave it an absolute waste. He carried off also about thirty slaves." Mr. Jefferson then goes on to speak of the depredations committed on the property of his neighbors, and in order to guard against any mistake, he adds: "When I say that Lord Cornwallis did all this, I do not mean that he carried about the torch in his own hands, but that it was all done under his eye; the situation of the house in which he was commanding

a view of every part of the plantation, so that he must have seen every fire. I relate these things on my own knowledge in a great degree, as I was on the ground soon after he left it." This testimony, we may add, is corroborated by all that is known of his Lordship's Southern campaign.

Doubtless some allowance must be made in favor of Lord Cornwallis, on account of the feelings of mortification which he must have experienced in seeing his schemes constantly defeated by Greene and the other American generals, and in finding how little community of interest there was between Sir Henry Clinton and himself. "Not only," says Mr. Ross, "did Sir Henry Clinton lay down no plan of operations for Lord Cornwallis, but, with the exception of the proposed attack on Philadelphia, he never said what he meant to do himself, professing his inability to make any arrangements till the expected reinforcements had arrived from Europe. Even more,—when General Phillips was sent to the Chesapeake, his instructions were not communicated to Lord Cornwallis." Under these annoying circumstances, it is not surprising that his subsequent movements should have been somewhat feeble and vacillating. In accordance, however, with what he believed to be the wish of Sir Henry Clinton, he determined to establish a permanent military post at Yorktown, and another at Gloucester, on the opposite side of York River. The troops were therefore conveyed down the river in boats, and landed on the 1st and 2d of August. Works were immediately commenced for the defence of the two places; but, from various causes, much delay occurred in their completion. In the mean time the Count de Grasse had entered the Chesapeake with a French fleet, and had fought an indecisive battle with the English fleet under Admiral Graves, who was compelled to sail for New York to repair damages. Information of these events was immediately sent by express to Washington, who was then in Philadelphia. He at once resolved to proceed to Virginia with a strong body of reinforcements, and, in connection with La Fayette and the troops then in the neighborhood of Yorktown, to give battle to Lord Cornwallis, or to attack him in his intrenchments.

On the night of the 28th of September he appeared before

Yorktown with an army twelve thousand strong. The next night the British evacuated their outposts and withdrew within the works, "hoping," says Lord Cornwallis in his official despatch, "by the labor and firmness of the soldiers, to protract the defence" until Sir Henry Clinton could arrive with the promised reinforcements. These outworks were immediately taken possession of by the French and Americans; and on the night of the 6th of October the first parallel was opened, within six hundred yards of the enemy, with but slight loss on the part of the besiegers. As soon as the parallel was completed, the batteries began to play on the town with marked effect; all the guns on the enemy's left were silenced; their works were much damaged; and many of their troops were killed. Two days after the fire was commenced from the first parallel, the second parallel was opened, within three hundred yards of the enemy's works; and on the evening of the 14th, two of the advanced redoubts were carried by assault, by separate detachments of French and American troops, and were united with the second parallel. The capture of these redoubts sealed the fate of Lord Cornwallis; but he determined not to yield as long as there was a possibility of escape. Accordingly, on the morning of the 16th he ordered a sortie, which was partially successful, though so little damage was done that the Americans found no difficulty in resuming the attack before night with the guns that had been spiked only a few hours before. The same night his Lordship, as a last resort, attempted to escape in boats to the opposite side of the river; but a violent storm frustrated this scheme. Nothing now remained but to surrender on the best terms which the besiegers were disposed to grant. On the 17th he wrote to Washington, proposing the appointment of commissioners to treat for the surrender of the two posts of Yorktown and Gloucester. After some delay the terms of capitulation were agreed upon, and were signed on the 19th. They were the same which had been granted to General Lincoln at Charleston the year before; and it was to that officer Lord Cornwallis surrendered his sword.

It is not easy to exaggerate the importance of this victory, — the last great event of the war. Its results were

immediate and apparent. "The enemy," says Hamilton, who had served with great credit during the siege, "were divested of their acquisitions in South Carolina and Georgia, with a rapidity which, if not ascertained, would scarcely be credible. In the short space of two months, all their posts in the interior of the country were reduced." Everywhere was rejoicing; Congress voted special thanks to the French and American commanders and to the two armies; the American representatives abroad congratulated one another and the French government on the success of the expedition. In England the feeling was equally strong, although not of so agreeable a character. Horace Walpole records in his *Last Journals*, that when Colonel Robert Conway arrived in England, express from Lord Cornwallis, "to represent the desperate posture of affairs," he told his father that England "had not a friend left in America." And when the news of the surrender actually came, we are told,—

"The news threw the Court and Administration into great confusion and distress. It came on the Sunday, and Parliament was to open on Tuesday, 27th. They had little time to prepare or alter the speech, and so it appeared; for though it affected great firmness and resolution of carrying on the war, it ridiculously passed, after one short paragraph on the new disgrace, to the East Indies, whence there was no new account, but where it pretended we had great success. It reminded men of the famous speech at the time of the remonstrances, which talked of the disease amongst the horned cattle."

Immediately after the capitulation, Lord Cornwallis proceeded under parole to New York, and thence sailed for England, where he arrived early in January, 1782.

In this rapid sketch of Lord Cornwallis's career in this country we have attempted little more than to indicate the principal events by which it was marked, and the general character of his services. During the first part of the time, he had held only a subordinate command here; but he had exhibited considerable energy and a sincere devotion to the British cause, and had acquired the reputation of being an able officer. His Southern campaign, on the contrary, in which he possessed an independent command, was a series of defeats, or of victories scarcely to be distinguished in their effects

from defeats, and had terminated with the total loss of his army. From this blow the British cause never recovered; and if Lord Cornwallis had died soon after his return to England, he would have filled a very different place in history from that which he now occupies. His true fame rests on what he did in India and Ireland, rather than on anything that he accomplished in America. In this country he left a well-merited reputation for harshness, and even cruelty; and the disastrous termination of his military career here was not likely to make him very popular in England. It must be conceded, however, that his subsequent conduct in the two most important periods of his life was marked by a humane and generous spirit, and that the failure of his military operations in the Southern Colonies must be attributed in no small degree to the want of harmony between Sir Henry Clinton and himself. If Lord Cornwallis had been properly supported, and fully informed in regard to Sir Henry's plans, there is reason to fear that the military capacity of Greene and Morgan, and the activity of Marion and Sumpter, would have availed little for the recovery of the Carolinas. Nor is it probable that the crowning victory of Yorktown would have been achieved, if Sir Henry Clinton had sent forward reinforcements on receiving the first intelligence of the dangerous position in which the Southern army was placed.

Lord Cornwallis did not resume his seat in Parliament until the June after his return; and about the same time the appointment of Governor-General of India was tendered to him by Lord Shelburne. This office he declined, from considerations of delicacy growing out of the fact that he had not yet been fully released from his parole. When the Coalition came into power, in April, 1783, he was disposed to resign his place as Constable of the Tower, on political grounds; but this intention was not carried out, and he continued to hold the office, as we have already remarked, until February, 1784. In the discussions on Mr. Fox's East India bill, he took no part; but after the king had authorized Lord Temple to make use of his name to defeat the Administration, Lord Cornwallis came up to town, and voted against the bill. He seems, however, to have felt that he was engaged in a rather disreputable

business. Immediately after the ministers were turned out, he wrote to his friend Ross: "My situation of having been sent for up to vote, and keeping my place, sat heavy on my mind, and before I knew of the change I had determined to resign." It was not difficult, however, to quiet his mind, and he soon convinced himself that he ought not to resign at once.

During this tempestuous period of party politics, when, as he says in one of his letters, "political animosities were at such a height, as to make it almost impossible to associate with those of the opposite party," Lord Cornwallis participated but little in public affairs. Yet he was a firm supporter of Mr. Pitt; and at one time he thought there was a possibility of his being offered the government of Ireland. The offer does not appear to have been made; and we next find him considering proposals to go to India, which were declined, chiefly, as we suppose, from an unwillingness to assume the responsibility of governing that remote empire unless the offices of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief could be united. A few weeks later, his regard for the ministry was much shaken, by their failure to appoint him to any of the offices vacated by the death of Lord Waldegrave. So great, indeed, was his vexation, that he began a letter narrating the circumstances by declaring: "I never before, my dear Ross, sat down with regret to write to you. It grieves me to think of the concern this letter will give you, but you must hear the story." He then goes on to speak of the promises which he had received, and of his expectation of being sent for on the death of Lord Waldegrave. The first blow to this expectation was the announcement in the Gazette that Lord George Lennox had received one of the most desirable appointments. On this, he thought it time to go up to town, where he saw a second announcement that the next best appointment had been given to Lord Percy. The following morning he waited on Lord Sydney, one of the Secretaries of State, to represent his grievances, and to see what reparation he could obtain. The result of the interview was not satisfactory, and towards the close of the letter he exclaims, "I have now done for ever with kings and ministers." But three days afterward he was willing to have another interview with the minister. This

interview was equally unsatisfactory, and terminated by Lord Cornwallis's leaving the room in a fit of passion; and again he poured out his griefs to Colonel Ross. "I did not feel quite easy," he says, "at having had no communication with any person but Lord Sydney." At the same time he enclosed a letter which he had written to Mr. Pitt, complaining of Lord Sydney's conduct towards him, and giving expression to his vexation with Mr. Pitt for "agreeing to expose me to the world as an object of contempt and ridicule." "I have now, Sir," he says, at the close of his letter to the premier, "only to say, that I still admire your character,—that I have still hopes that your abilities and integrity will preserve this distressed country; I will not be base enough, from a sense of personal injury, to join faction, and endeavor, right or wrong, to obstruct the measures of government; but I must add, and with heartfelt grief I do it, that private confidence cannot easily be restored." The result of this missive was an interview with Mr. Pitt, in which the prime minister skilfully smoothed his Lordship's ruffled feelings, by offering him his former appointment of Constable of the Tower; and they parted with "much civil language." The same day, Lord Cornwallis expressed his gratitude to Mr. Pitt in a short and characteristic note. "The fairness and candor of your behavior to me," he writes, "and your obliging expressions of friendship, have determined me never to turn my eyes back to whatever fatality occasioned the disagreeable subject of our conversation. I shall most thankfully accept the Tower from you, and I shall erase from my mind every idea that I could ever have been slighted by Mr. Pitt." A similar note was despatched to Lord Sydney,—"and so," he writes to his friend, "this disagreeable affair has ended better than we could have expected."

In the early part of 1785, he was again offered the appointment of Governor-General of India, "to prevent some disagreement in the Cabinet." But after considering the subject for twenty-four hours, he declined the proffered honor. In the summer of the same year he was intrusted with his first diplomatic mission, which was designed to open a more direct and confidential intercourse between the courts of Prussia and of England. This duty he discharged in a very satisfactory

manner, though it was not productive of any immediate results. Early in the following year the offer of the Governor-Generalship was again pressed upon him, with the addition of the appointment of Commander-in-Chief in India. This offer he accepted on the 23d of February, 1786, with the intention of returning to England in five years; and on the 6th of May he set sail for India.

He arrived at Calcutta early in the following September, and entered at once upon the discharge of his new duties. To this task he doubtless brought those general views of Indian policy which afterwards guided him in the management of affairs. Still his position was not likely to prove easy. A year and a half before, Warren Hastings, after many delays, had finally obeyed the commands of the Court of Directors, and had sailed for England, there to undergo a trial of unexampled length, at the bar of the House of Lords, upon the impeachment of the Commons of England. His successor, Sir John Macpherson, was not a man of high character or of marked ability, and had already been engaged in some disreputable pecuniary transactions in India. His short administration only increased the difficulties with which Lord Cornwallis had to contend. Under all the innumerable disadvantages arising from a long course of previous misgovernment, the new Governor-General was to restore peace to the country, regulate the finances of the Company, and, in general, inaugurate a new system. He had never been in India before; he was ignorant of the language, manners, and customs of the people whom he was to govern; and he had no acquaintance with the details of that complex system by which Indian politics were managed, and a revenue raised from the depressed people of India. It is true that his authority extended over a territory very inconsiderable when compared with that immense empire which is now under the sway of England. But the threatening aspect of affairs at home, the great danger of the speedy breaking out of a general European war, and the actual existence of war among the native princes in India, all added to the difficulty and insecurity of his position, and fully compensated for any advantages arising from the comparative narrowness of his territories.

The first matter which engaged his attention was the abrogation of certain treaties entered into by Sir John Macpherson with several of the native princes. These treaties had been disapproved by the Court of Directors ; and it is a striking illustration of the quickness with which the new Governor-General's mind acted, that his plan for their abrogation was settled, and announced to the different princes, in a few weeks after he first stepped foot in India. Besides settling this important question, he also turned his attention to the financial reform of the government, and to a rigid examination of the numerous jobs by which colossal fortunes had been built up under former administrations, and the natives had been cruelly oppressed. One of the most important of these reforms, since it related to what is to the East Indian a prime necessary of life, was the reform in the management of the salt monopoly. The mode of collecting the revenue from this article had varied in different years. At one time, licenses to manufacture salt were sold, and a transit duty was added upon the removal of any salt so produced. Other systems were then adopted with various degrees of success ; and finally, in 1772, it was provided, that all the salt manufactured in India should in the first instance be sold to the agents of the Company at a price fixed by them, and then resold to the wholesale dealers at an advanced price, to be once more sold to the consumer at a still higher price. This cumbrous, and, we may venture to add, nefarious system, was in existence when Lord Cornwallis arrived in India. He saw its evils, and determined to put a stop to them. Accordingly he decided that "the salt should be put up to public auction, and sold without partiality or favor, to the fairest bidder." The immediate result was satisfactory, and advantageous to the revenue of the Company. "By exposing it in small lots," he wrote to the Court of Directors, on the 18th of August, 1787, "natives of the most moderate fortunes have had it in their power to become purchasers, and I have the satisfaction to inform you, that, between what has hitherto been called the Company's price and the price for which it was actually sold, the public, upon the quantity already disposed of, has gained upwards of five lacs of rupees." Subsequently the system was again changed ; and in 1836, the Company reverted to the method which Lord Cornwallis had abolished.

Other administrative and financial reforms likewise occupied his mind, and were carried out with a greater or less degree of success; and in December, 1787, he was able to write to the Chairman of the East India Company: "I can truly say, that, ever since I landed in Bengal, I have paid the most unre-mitted attention to every part of the Company's interest in this country. I have been a most rigid economist, in all cases where I thought rigid economy was true economy. I abolished sinecure places, put a stop to jobbing agencies and contracts, prevented large sums from being voted away in council for trumped-up charges, and have been unwearied in hunting out fraud and abuse in every department." In the same letter he indicates his views in regard to the compensation which the servants of the Company ought to receive. "I shall never think it a wise measure in this country," he says, "to place men in great and responsible situations, where the prosperity of our affairs must depend on their exertions as well as integrity, without giving them the means, in a certain number of years, of acquiring, honestly and openly, a moderate fortune." The same wise and just principle is announced in other letters, and upon it his Lordship uniformly acted in settling the salaries over which he had control.

The only important cession of territory obtained during this first part of Lord Cornwallis's administration was that of the Guntoor Circar, which was surrendered in 1788 by the Nizam, one of the most powerful of the Mahometan rulers in India. The English claim, which originally dated from the treaty concluded with the Nizam in 1768, had ceased to be dormant in 1782, upon the death of his brother Bazalet Jung, to whom the territory had been conditionally granted in 1761. According to the terms of this treaty, the Guntoor Circar was to be given up to the Company upon the death of the reigning prince; but when that event occurred, it was not deemed advisable by the English authorities to insist upon a cession which the Nizam exhibited some reluctance to make. When Lord Cornwallis was appointed to the Governor-Generalship, and before he sailed from England, he received specific instructions to procure the surrender of this territory. The apprehensions of war, by which the first years of his administration

were disturbed, induced him to delay making a formal demand upon the Nizam for the fulfilment of the treaty stipulations. Finally, in the summer of 1788, active measures were taken to secure the desired object; and after a short negotiation the matter was satisfactorily settled, and the fact was announced by his Lordship in a despatch dated November 4, 1788. At the same time the Nizam's claim for the peshcush, or tribute, due from the Company under the same treaty, and their counter-claim for the revenues of the Circar collected since the death of Bazalet, were amicably adjusted.

During this period of uninterrupted peace his Lordship had experienced little difficulty in devoting himself almost exclusively to the daily routine of official life, and to the maturing of his plans for administrative and financial reform. "I can send you no news from hence that can either amuse or interest you," he says in a letter to his son, dated January 11, 1789; "my life at Calcutta is perfect clockwork; I get on horseback just as the dawn of day begins to appear, ride on the same road and the same distance, pass the whole forenoon, after my return from riding, in doing business, and almost exactly the same portion of time every day at table, drive out in a phaeton a little before sunset, then write, or read over letters or papers of business for two hours, sit down at nine with two or three officers of my family to some fruit and a biscuit, and go to bed soon after the clock strikes ten." But this regularity of life which marked the first part of his residence in India was not long afterward exchanged for the bustle of the camp. Apprehensions had been for some time felt that the warlike preparations of Tippoo Saib, the most powerful of all the princes in India, were designed for an attack on the Rajah of Travancore, one of the chief allies of the Company. These apprehensions proved to be well founded; and at the close of the year 1789, Tippoo made an attack on the lines of the Rajah, with the knowledge that this act would be regarded by the English as equivalent to a declaration of war upon them.*

* The reasons for this step put forward by Tippoo were, — "1st. That the Rajah had given protection to the Rajahs of Calicut, Coottingherry, &c., who were indebted to Tippoo's Circar. 2d. That he had purchased Cranganore from the Dutch. 3d. That he had erected lines on a part of Cochin dependent on Calicut." To this

Hostilities immediately commenced, and by the middle of June, 1790, the campaign may be said to have fairly opened. No very important events marked the first months of the war, though several places were besieged, and some slight engagements took place. On the 12th of December, Lord Cornwallis arrived at Madras, for the purpose of assuming the command of the army in person, and superseding General Medows, who had hitherto conducted the war.

On the 29th of the following month, his Lordship took the command of the army. A few days later, he began his march towards the territories of Tippoo; and by a judicious manœuvre he ascended the Eastern Ghauts, and encamped on the table-land of Mysore without opposition. This successful opening of the campaign was actively followed up by the siege of Bangalore, an important place about two hundred miles west of Madras, which was carried by storm on the 21st of April. Immediately after this victory he again pushed forward, and on the 13th of May he reached Arikera, about nine miles from Seringapatam. Here his position was by no means secure; and he soon saw that there was but little chance of effecting the reduction of Seringapatam before the commencement of the rainy season. His troops were much weakened by their long and rapid march, and by the great deficiency of provisions and forage; the armies which were to be furnished by the Nizam and the Peshwa, in accordance with the terms of two treaties concluded with them in the preceding July, had been very dilatory in their movements, and only a small number of the Nizam's cavalry had yet joined his standard; the river had already begun to rise, and would soon be at such a height as to render it impossible for him to form a junction

the Rajah of Travancore replied, that Tippoo's debtors should be ordered to depart from his dominions; that the Dutch had an indisputable right to sell; and that the lines on Cochin had been erected twenty-five years, and before its Rajah had begun to pay tribute to Tippoo. The lines of the Rajah of Travancore extended from the sea to the mountains, a distance of twenty-eight or thirty miles, and formed the northern barrier of his possessions. They consisted of "a ditch about sixteen feet broad and twenty deep, a slight parapet and thick rampart, and bastions flanking each other from one end to the other." They were attacked by Tippoo in person on the 29th of December; but after obtaining possession of a part of the works, he was compelled to retire with considerable loss.

with General Abercomby, who was advancing from Bombay ; and the season was rapidly approaching when it would be impossible to carry on operations in the field. Undismayed by these formidable obstacles, his Lordship determined to attack Tippoo at once. The battle was fought on the 15th, and resulted in a complete victory over Tippoo, who lost a considerable number in killed and wounded, and four pieces of brass cannon. This victory, however, was productive of but little advantage ; and finding it impossible to cross the river, Lord Cornwallis destroyed his heavy baggage and his battering train on the 22d, and transmitted orders to General Abercromby to put his army into cantonments on the Malabar coast until the rainy season was over. On the 26th, he commenced his own retreat towards Bangalore ; but scarcely had the army begun to move, when the long-expected army of the Peshwa made its appearance. Its arrival, however, was too late to prevent the postponement of the attack on Seringapatam ; and though its appearance a few days before would probably have changed the entire aspect of things, his Lordship did not deem it advisable to retrace the steps which he had taken. Accordingly, after a brief delay for the purpose of covering the large convoys which accompanied the Mahratta army, the march was resumed.

In the mean time some unimportant operations had been carried on by the troops of the Nizam and the Peshwā, the most considerable of which were the capture of Capool and Darwar, after protracted sieges. The only other military events of the year deserving of notice were the reduction of the numerous hill forts scattered over the territory of Mysore, which rendered communication between the different armies extremely difficult, and in many cases altogether impossible. The most formidable of these rocky fortresses were Nundydroog, Savendroog, or the Hill of Death, and Ootradroog ; but notwithstanding their great strength, they all surrendered after severe and sometimes protracted sieges. In a short time nearly every fort between Seringapatam and the Coromandel coast was in the hands of the English. The campaign had not indeed been attended with all the success which had been hoped for ; but on the whole the results were very favorable to the English arms. And it must be regarded as fur-

nishing strong evidence of Lord Cornwallis's skill and energy as a military commander.

With the opening of the new year, he took prompt and efficient measures for bringing the war to a speedy termination. On the 25th of January, he began his march from Savendroog, in the vicinity of which place he had collected his various forces, and in ten days he was within sight of Seringapatam. A short time was spent in reconnoitring and in preparing for an assault; and at eight o'clock on the evening of the 6th of February, the army, to the number of nine thousand men, moved forward to the attack. It was a bright moonlight night, and no previous cannonade had weakened the enemy's works. Yet the success of the attack was complete. All of Tippoo's works on the north bank of the river were carried, and his loss in killed, wounded, and missing is said to have amounted to more than twenty-three thousand men. The firing had commenced at eleven o'clock on the night of the 6th, and was kept up without cessation until five o'clock on the afternoon of the 7th. At that hour the English remained in full possession of all they had gained; and during the night Tippoo withdrew all his troops to the south side of the river, leaving behind him seventy-seven pieces of cannon, which fell into the hands of the victors. This advantage was followed up so rapidly, that by the 22d it was certain that the batteries could begin to play on the 1st of March, and with a strong probability that they would soon effect a breach. Alarmed at the dangers which threatened him, Tippoo made overtures for peace; and on the 23d, he communicated to a large assembly of his principal officers the preliminary articles agreed upon the day before. By these articles it was provided that one half of the dominions in possession of Tippoo at the commencement of the war should be ceded to the allies, agreeably to their selection from the territories adjacent to their own boundaries; that three crores and thirty lacs of Sicca rupees, or rather more than sixteen million dollars, should be paid to the allies, one half immediately, and the remainder in three instalments; that all the prisoners taken from the time of Hyder Ali to the close of the present war should be given up; and that two of the three

eldest sons of Tippoo should be surrendered as hostages for the faithful performance of these articles. Notwithstanding the severity of these terms, Tippoo's advisers were unanimous in favor of their acceptance, as the only means of preserving his power from entire destruction; and they were accordingly embodied in the definitive treaty of peace and perpetual friendship subsequently concluded.*

The third Mysore war was one of the two great events in the history of Lord Cornwallis's Indian administration; and its speedy and successful termination afforded him much satisfaction. "No termination of the war," he writes to his brother, on the 4th of May, "could in my opinion have been attended with more solid advantages to our interest, and the deference which was paid to us on the occasion, both by friends and enemies, has placed the British name and consequence in a light never before known in India." Throughout its whole course, he had exhibited characteristic forethought and energy. Not only did he take the field in person at the earliest moment, and breathe his own active and enterprising spirit into all who were under his command; but at the very outset he took measures to secure the co-operation of two of the most powerful of the native princes. The same promptness and decision marked his subsequent acts; and though he was compelled in the first instance to desist from his proposed attack on Seringapatam, the failure of the attempt cannot be ascribed to any oversight or neglect upon his part. Added to this, the terms dictated to Tippoo were in the highest degree conducive to the interest of the Company. By the treaty of peace they obtained large acquisitions of revenue

* Mr. Thornton, who is in general unfriendly to the policy of Lord Cornwallis, condemns this peace, in his *History of the British Empire in India*, because the terms were "so favorable." "Perhaps," he says, "no more injudicious course could have been taken than that pursued by Lord Cornwallis. The humiliation and loss to which the Sultan was subjected would naturally influence his previous feelings of enmity, and he was left with the means of gratifying those feelings." But looking at this matter without any partisan bias, we may venture to express the opinion that Lord Cornwallis adopted the only course which he could take consistently with the known views of the Court of Directors and with his own well-assured convictions on the subject. It met the approbation of the home government; and the fortunate commander was rewarded for his brilliant successes by being raised to a marquissate, — apparently without solicitation on his part.

and territory, and sensibly weakened the power of a very dangerous neighbor. Upon the side of the Carnatic they obtained a new frontier, which added much to the security of that important province; and the revenues of the ceded provinces formed a very welcome, and at that time much needed accession to their treasury.

Upon the close of the war, his Lordship was enabled once more to turn his attention to the internal affairs of his government. The first and greatest question which claimed his attention related to the assessment and collection of the land revenue in the districts of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, comprising the territory under the direct supervision of the Governor-General. The subject was surrounded with great difficulties, and had been under his consideration for a long time,—even before he left England, it is said. Considerable progress had been made in the settlement of the principles and details of the new system, when the breaking out of the Mysore war compelled him to postpone the immediate execution of his plan. He now returned to its discussion, and after careful examination, and with the approval of the Court of Directors, he inaugurated the system known as the Zemindar or Permanent Settlement. The justice and expediency of this arrangement have been often called in question, and not without good reason. It is, indeed, one of the uncounted anomalies of the Indian government. But we are not aware that the purity and integrity of Lord Cornwallis's motives have been assailed by any writer, however much he may have condemned the system.

This settlement was, of course, based in the first instance on the theory, almost universally recognized in India, that the ultimate title to the soil was vested in the sovereign, and that from him the territory was held, subject to such conditions as he might see fit to impose. But when Lord Cornwallis and the Council at Calcutta approached the next point, which related to the present proprietorship of the soil, they became involved in many doubts and difficulties, arising from the uncertainty and variety of the laws and usages prevalent in different provinces. Their investigations, which are admitted to have been thorough and minute, led them to adopt

the supposition that the existing proprietary rights were vested in the zemindars, or landholders, and that the ryots, or peasants, stood to them in the relation of tenants. The correctness of this supposition has been often denied, and the real facts of the case are by no means clear; but it is the cornerstone of the Zemindar Settlement. These two points arranged, it only remained to determine the amount of the assessment, and the length of time for which it should be made. In regard to the first point, there does not appear to have been much difference of opinion; and it was decided, with little difficulty, that the assessment should be calculated as far as was practicable on the average income received by the government in previous years. In regard to the next question, however, there was a great and irreconcilable difference between the views of Lord Cornwallis and those of Mr. Shore, his principal and most influential adviser. On the one side Mr. Shore was firm in the opinion that the settlement should be made for only ten years, in order to afford an opportunity for its revision, if experience should suggest any improvements. He contended, with much reason, that, notwithstanding their laborious investigations, "many questions had been decided on imperfect grounds; that, in some cases, injustice might have been done, by ignoring rights which had not been fully explained; and that in others the government might have suffered through concealment or fraud." On the other hand, Lord Cornwallis was equally firm in the opinion that the settlement ought to be made permanent, prognosticating great evils if the system should be left subject to a revision, by which the whole question should be reopened, at the end of ten years. Their views were set forth at great length in two voluminous Minutes, drawn up respectively by Mr. Shore and Lord Cornwallis. The Court of Directors gave their sanction to his Lordship's views; and accordingly the settlement was made permanent. The regulations for carrying it out were announced on the 22d of March, 1793.

"By these," to adopt Mr. Ross's brief statement of their provisions, "it was declared, that the settlements were to be perpetual and irrevocable; and that all Zemindars, independent Talookdars, and other actual proprietors of land, and their heirs and lawful successors, were

to hold their estates subject only to the fixed amount of tax then settled. To this there were but two exceptions. Uncultivated land, when brought into cultivation, was to become subject to a charge then to be fixed, and if any Zemindary was sold or forfeited for non-payment of rent, the government were not to be bound by the previously existing arrangement. If it was escheated by the failure of issue of a Zemindar, the government held the land only on the same terms as the last possessor."

About the same time two other important reforms were effected, in regard to the composition and jurisdiction of the courts, and in regard to the police regulations, by which a marked improvement was produced in the administration of justice. But it is not necessary for us at the present time to enter into any examination of the changes introduced in the judicial system and the police arrangements. They belong more properly to the general history of India, since numerous additional changes have been since introduced, and others must inevitably follow. They were among the last subjects which engaged his Lordship's attention; and having already remained in India much longer than he intended, he sailed for England in October, 1793. He was succeeded in the Governor-Generalship by his friend and former adviser, Sir John Shore, afterwards created Lord Teignmouth.

Notwithstanding the diversity of opinion in regard to some of the measures of Lord Cornwallis's first Indian administration, it has in general received the cordial approbation of historians. Nor does this praise seem ill-deserved. His government was economical; its policy was pacific; its dealings with the natives were just and humane. Abuses which his predecessors had sanctioned or encouraged, were corrected; reforms were introduced, to the great advantage of the Company's finances; and new regulations were framed for the benefit of the oppressed inhabitants. His own conduct was firm, upright, and energetic; and probably no man ever left India with hands less sullied by unlawful gains. On two occasions his admirable qualifications for the government of a great empire were especially conspicuous. When Tippoo attacked the Rajah of Travancore, Lord Cornwallis did not hesitate for a moment in regard to the policy to be adopted;

and by his prudence and energy he soon brought the war to a successful termination. In settling the revenue question he exhibited unwearied industry in investigating details, and considerable acuteness in detecting general principles. In dealing with less important questions, he exhibited the same characteristics; and on the whole, it must be conceded that his administration was honorable to himself, advantageous to the Company, and beneficial to India.

He landed in England early in the following February; and after a very brief period of rest, he again entered into public affairs with his accustomed zeal and activity. The condition of the country and the general aspect of foreign and domestic politics had greatly changed since he sailed for India, nearly eight years before. Mr. Pitt's administration had been in office for more than ten years, and had successfully resisted every attempt to drive it from power; the impeachment of Warren Hastings had been carried in the House of Commons; his trial before the House of Lords had commenced and been in progress for nearly six years; the great Whig party had been broken up; France had begun her stormy revolutionary period, and the first coalition against her had been formed. This period had indeed been one of the most memorable in English history; and upon his arrival Lord Cornwallis found a condition of things which promised him speedy employment. In a little more than three months he was sent to the Continent to ascertain the condition of affairs in the Low Countries, where the allies had several armies in the field, and to endeavor to bring about greater harmony of arrangement, with a view to a more efficient prosecution of the war against France. In this mission he was only partially successful; but subsequently an intimation was conveyed from the Austrian Court to the English Cabinet, that, if the local rank of Field-Marshal in Flanders should be conferred on Lord Cornwallis, it was probable that all the armies would be placed under his command.

This step was involved in difficulties and embarrassments, since the first effect of the proposed appointment would be to supersede the Duke of York, who was then at the head of the English troops on the Continent. Nevertheless, the incapacity

of the Duke was so apparent, and the advantages to be anticipated from adopting the proposed plan were so great, that the ministry determined to ask the royal permission to carry it into effect. A Cabinet Minute was accordingly drawn up and laid before his Majesty, exhibiting the reasons for proposing this step, and "declaring that, in the opinion of the Cabinet, it was the only step which afforded any chance of repairing the calamities sustained by the allies." The king returned the paper the same day, with a characteristic note to Mr. Pitt, intimating that, if he were in his son's place, he should beg to be allowed to return home, if superseded by Lord Cornwallis, but at the same time expressing his willingness to assent to the proposed appointment. In consequence, however, of various obstacles, the scheme was soon relinquished.

Lord Cornwallis does not appear to have taken any improper share in this transaction; and it is certain that he did not lose the king's favor in consequence of his connection with it. Before the close of the year, propositions were made to him to enter the Cabinet, which were readily accepted; and in February, 1795, he was appointed Master-General of the Ordnance, with a seat in the Cabinet, in place of the Duke of Richmond. He held this office until June, 1801, and discharged its duties with the same energy which he had shown during his Indian administration. The country was placed in a state of defence, and active preparations were made to repel a threatened invasion by the French. Early in 1797, he was again sworn in as Governor-General of India, in consequence of the alarm universally felt in England at the attitude assumed by the officers of the Bengal army in opposition to the new regulations for uniting the king's troops and the Company's troops in India. Their discontent had risen to such a dangerous height, that it was feared Sir John Shore did not possess sufficient firmness and decision to cope with the threatened mutiny. Accordingly his Lordship was appointed to succeed the Governor-General, and was sworn into office on the 1st of February, but without relinquishing his place in the Cabinet. His departure for India was delayed partly by the mutiny in the fleet at Portsmouth and at the Nore, and partly by other reasons; and ultimately such concessions were made

to the discontented officers, that he did not think it necessary or advisable to proceed on his voyage. On the 2d of August he resigned his appointment, and was succeeded by Lord Mornington, better known as the Marquis Wellesley.

With the resignation of his second appointment as Governor-General of India, we enter upon the third great period in Lord Cornwallis's life,—that which includes his government of Ireland. As early as the preceding May, intimations had been thrown out that it was not improbable the command of the army in Ireland would be conferred upon him. Various delays, however, occurred in arranging the matter; and it was not until June in the following year that he received and accepted the double appointment of Lord Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland. He arrived in Dublin on the 20th, and immediately assumed the management of affairs, but without any very pleasant anticipations. He had not been in Ireland a fortnight when he wrote to the Duke of Portland, "The life of a Lord Lieutenant of Ireland comes up to my idea of perfect misery; but if I can accomplish the great object of consolidating the British empire, I shall be sufficiently repaid." Certainly the prospect before him was by no means pleasing, whilst the actual condition of things was such as to make his position one of much difficulty and anxiety. "Of all the situations which I ever held," he wrote to General Ross on the 9th of July, "the present is, by far, the most intolerable to me, and I have often within this last fortnight wished myself back in Bengal." A powerful and widely-extended organization, known as the United Irishmen, had been formed for the purpose of overturning the English authority; the hostile factions regarded each other with the most intense animosity, and gave themselves up to acts of the utmost barbarity; murders and pillagings succeeded one another with a frightful rapidity, which only too plainly showed that all the accumulated hatred of previous generations had now found expression; a considerable part of the island was in a state of open rebellion; and it was evident that the most energetic measures could alone preserve the existing connection of England and Ireland, and the authority of the Englishry over the aboriginal inhabitants. To meet this condition

of things was no easy matter; and the new Lord Lieutenant had therefore been intrusted with the most extensive powers, and had been authorized to exercise a large discretion in their use.

The capture of Wexford by General Moore, on the 21st of June, and the total dispersion of the rebels at Vinegar Hill on the same day, removed some of his difficulties; and his first embarrassment arose from uncertainty as to the best manner of dealing with the state prisoners who had fallen into his hands in consequence of these successes and by previous arrests. But on the 22d of August a body of French troops, under General Humbert, landed in Killala Bay, in the province of Connaught, and a few days later totally routed a much larger detachment of the English army, under General Lake, at Castlebar. On receiving intelligence of this unfortunate affair, Lord Cornwallis prepared at once to take the field in person. The result was, the surrender of the whole French army to General Lake, who was again in command of a division of the English forces, on the 8th of September, at Ballynamuck, a little village in the very heart of the island. This victory terminated all fears of an invasion by the French; and his Lordship was not again called into the field while he remained in Ireland. He was thus enabled, at a very early period, to turn his whole attention to the pacification of the country and the punishment of the leaders in the rebellion. In discharging this duty he offended both parties, — one by his leniency, the other by his severity. As early as the 29th of July, he had written to General Ross: “My conduct hitherto has got me abused by both sides, as might naturally be expected, — being too coercive for the one, and too lenient for the other; I trust, however, it will terminate advantageously for the country, and consequently with satisfaction to myself.” Placed between two races who hated each other with an hereditary hatred which had lost none of its ancient venom, Lord Cornwallis saw, with a clearer eye than did the statesmen around him, the absolute necessity of conciliating the subject race by a humane and liberal course, and of moderating the rancor and bloodthirstiness of the adherents of the government. “The principal personages here,” he says, in a secret

and confidential letter to the Duke of Portland, dated September 16, "who have long been in the habit of directing the councils of the Lords Lieutenant, are perfectly well-intentioned and entirely attached and devoted to the British connection; but they are blinded by their passions and prejudices, talk of nothing but strong measures, and arrogate to themselves the exclusive knowledge of a country, of which, from their mode of governing it, they have, in my opinion, proved themselves totally ignorant." And in the same letter he tells his Grace, that he has made no further progress in solving the question, "How this country can be governed and preserved, and rendered a source of strength and power, instead of remaining an useless and almost intolerable burden to Great Britain," than to satisfy himself "that a perseverance in the system which has hitherto been pursued, can only lead us from bad to worse, and, after exhausting the resources of Britain, must end in the total separation of the two countries."

Upon this view he acted; and it will be readily admitted that his policy was wise and merciful, affording an honorable contrast to his conduct in the American war. Lord Edward Fitzgerald and some others were attainted by an act of the Irish Parliament; the priest O'Coigley, the brothers Sheares, Cornelius Grogan, Bagenal Beauchamp Harvey, and a few more of the prominent leaders in the rebellion, were executed; Wolfe Tone escaped the same penalty by committing suicide; and others were banished or made their escape to foreign lands, where they entered the military service of their adopted country, or, like Emmet, rose to distinction at the bar. The whole number of arrests was very large; but the number of executions was comparatively small, owing partly to the difficulty of obtaining sufficient evidence to convict the prisoners, and partly to Lord Cornwallis's disinclination to a harsh policy. Nevertheless, between the landing of the French in the summer of 1798, and the following February, three hundred and eighty persons were tried under martial law, of whom one hundred and thirty-one were capitally convicted, and ninety were executed. Nearly as many more were conditionally pardoned. Such was the end of the rebellion of 1798, which for a time caused the greatest alarm both in Eng-

land and Ireland. Like every previous and every subsequent uprising of the aboriginal Irish, it terminated disastrously for those engaged in it.

It led, however, to the adoption of one of the most important, and, as we believe, one of the most beneficial measures, since the first subjugation of Ireland by the English. The history of the means by which the legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland was finally effected, and the various steps which marked the progress of the measure, are detailed at great length in Lord Cornwallis's Correspondence, and much light is thrown upon them. The first mention of the proposed Union occurs soon after the suppression of the rebellion. The principal heads of the measure, as agreed upon by the ministry in England, were communicated to Lord Cornwallis by the Duke of Portland, at that time Secretary of State for the Home Department, in a letter dated November 12, 1798. His Lordship at once began to ascertain the sentiments of the principal personages in regard to it; and, a week after receiving the Duke of Portland's letter, he wrote to General Ross: "I have no great doubts of being able to carry the measure here, but I have great apprehensions of the inefficacy of it after it is carried, and I do not think it would have been much more difficult to have included the Catholics." Four days later he was enabled to communicate to the Duke of Portland the first impressions of many influential persons. There was, however, a strong opposition to this measure in various quarters, and especially among the members of the bar. On both sides the effect of bribery and corruption was tried; and on the 23d of November, Lord Castlereagh, at that time Chief Secretary for Ireland, wrote to Mr. Wickham, Under Secretary of State for the Home Department: "The principal provincial newspapers have been secured, and every attention will be paid to the press generally." A few weeks later, Lord Castlereagh wrote to the same correspondent: "Already we feel the want, and indeed the absolute necessity, of the *primum mobile*. We cannot give that activity to the press which is requisite. We have good materials amongst the young barristers, but we cannot expect them to waste their time and starve into the bargain. I know the difficulties, and

shall respect them as much as possible, in the extent of our expenditure ; but notwithstanding every difficulty, I cannot help most earnestly requesting to receive £5,000 in bank-notes by the first messenger." The money was sent, and its receipt was acknowledged in a short and very cautiously worded note. "The *contents* of the messenger's despatches," so the note runs, "are very interesting. Arrangements with a view to further communications of the same nature will be highly advantageous, and the Duke of Portland may depend on their being carefully applied."

Intimidation was also used to influence votes ; and on the 21st of December the Lord Lieutenant was officially informed that the king's government were determined to press the measure, "as essential to the well-being of both countries, and particularly to the security and peace of Ireland, as dependent on its connection with Great Britain" ; that the object would be urged to the utmost, and if it failed at that time, it would be renewed until it proved successful ; and that the conduct of individuals on this subject would be considered as "the test of their disposition to support the King's government." It was in this condition of affairs that the subject came before the Irish Parliament in January, 1799, in the debate on the Address in answer to the King's Speech at the opening of the session. In the House of Lords the discussion did not last long, and the division was favorable to the plan of Union. But the sitting of the House of Commons was of extraordinary length, and continued without intermission from four o'clock on Tuesday afternoon until one o'clock on Wednesday afternoon. In the division on the Amendment to the Address, moved by the opponents of a legislative Union, 105 voted in favor of the Amendment, and 106 against it. In a second division, 107 voted in favor of the original Address, and 105 against it. This result was entirely unexpected by the government ; and a few days afterward, Lord Castlereagh, who had the chief management of the Parliamentary intrigues, transmitted an analysis of the vote to the Duke of Portland, in which he states that 22 members had voted against the Address who were expected to vote in favor of it, "most of them having distinctly promised support." Of the opponents

of Union, he thought that twenty "might be bought off." Nevertheless, both Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh entertained strong doubts whether, under the circumstances, the plan of a Union of Great Britain and Ireland could be brought forward in that session with any chance of success; and they determined not to press the matter any further. The question was accordingly suffered to drop, and both parties began to prepare for an animated struggle the next year.

During the summer, Lord Cornwallis made a tour through several of the Irish counties, for the purpose of confirming the wavering, conciliating the discontented, and smoothing the way for the great Parliamentary battle of the next winter. Meetings were held for the purpose of voting addresses in favor of Union; money was freely asked for from England; and many persons were removed from office as a punishment for their opposition or lukewarm support. For this petty intriguing Lord Cornwallis had a profound aversion; yet he entered into it with spirit, as the only means by which the Union could be carried in a country so addicted to jobbing.

"The political jobbing of this country gets the better of me," he wrote to General Ross on the 20th of May; "it has ever been the wish of my life to avoid all this dirty business, and I am now involved in it beyond all bearing, and am consequently more wretched than ever. I trust that I shall live to get out of this most cursed of all situations, and most repugnant to my feelings. How I long to kick those whom my public duty obliges me to court! If I did not hope to get out of this country, I should most earnestly pray for immediate death. No man, I am sure, ever experienced a more wretched existence; and after all, I doubt whether it is possible to save the country."

Nor were the Opposition less industrious or more scrupulous. On their side meetings were also held, at which inflammatory speeches were made and addresses were adopted; petitions and remonstrances were widely circulated and numerous signed; and a fund was raised for the purchase of votes and other corrupt purposes. After the great debate of the 5th of February, 1800, Lord Castlereagh wrote to the Duke of Portland in reference to the division: "Sir R. Butler, Mahon, and Featherstone were taken off by county cabals during the recess, and Whaley absolutely bought by the Opposition

stock-purse. He received, I understand, £ 2,000 down, and is to receive as much more after the service is performed. We have undoubted proofs," Lord Castlereagh adds, "though not such as we can disclose, that they are enabled to offer as high as £ 5,000 for an individual vote; and I lament to state that there are individuals remaining amongst us that are likely to yield to this temptation." At the same time Lord Cornwallis wrote to his brother, the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry: "The enemy, to my certain knowledge, offer £ 5,000 ready money for a vote." Such was the state of public morality in Ireland at the time of the Union; and by such means and against such opposition was the measure finally carried.

Having spent the summer and fall in these dirty intrigues, both parties were ready for the contest on the opening of Parliament in January, 1800. The principal leaders on the side of the government were Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Corry, Chancellor of the Exchequer. On the side of the Opposition were Mr. Grattan, Mr. George Ponsonby, afterward leader of the Opposition in the Imperial House of Commons, Sir John Parnell, late Chancellor, Mr. Foster, Speaker of the House, Sir Lawrence Parsons, and others. In the debate on the Address in answer to the King's Speech at the opening of the session, government had the decided advantage; and the principle of Union was supported in the House of Commons by a vote of 138 to 96. A few weeks later a second division took place, on the question of taking into consideration the King's message relative to a legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland, in which government again triumphed by a vote of 158 against 115,—the largest division ever known in the Irish House of Commons. In the House of Lords, on a test question, the principle of Union was likewise affirmed by a vote of 75 to 26. In the subsequent divisions the majorities in the two Houses were not materially changed, though the struggle was conducted on both sides with great bitterness, resulting in one case in a duel. In the debate on the preliminary resolution to the Articles of Union, Mr. Grattan replied with much warmth to Mr. Corry, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had attacked him on a former occasion. Mr. Corry retorted with equal spirit, accusing Mr. Grattan "of living in familiarity

with rebels, and being a conniver at their plans to overthrow the country." To this speech Mr. Grattan replied on the same evening with still greater bitterness. As soon as Mr. Grattan sat down, Mr. Corry sent a message to him by a military friend; and at daybreak, while the committee was still in session, they left the House to seek satisfaction in another place. Mr. Corry was wounded in the arm at the first fire; but notwithstanding this result, both parties fired a second time, though without effect. "An immense mob," we are told, "had assembled, and so great was the frenzy of the people, that, had Mr. Grattan fallen, Mr. Corry would probably not have left the ground alive. The sheriff, who was present, would not interfere officially, but endeavored to effect an amicable arrangement."

In England, the Union was carried by very great majorities, though not without opposition on the part of the Whigs; and on the 12th of May Lord Cornwallis sent a message to the two Houses of the Irish Parliament, communicating the resolutions adopted by the British Parliament.* Nine days afterward, Lord Castlereagh moved for leave to bring in a Bill for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland; and leave was accordingly granted, by a vote of 160 to 100. The bill was at once introduced, and was speedily carried through both Houses, by considerable majorities; and on the 1st of August Lord Cornwallis gave the royal assent to the Act of Union. Meanwhile, it had become necessary to arrange the promotions to the peerage, and the other rewards to the principal advocates of the measure. Accordingly, early in June the Lord Lieutenant transmitted to England two letters, embracing the names of those who had received encouragement that they would be raised to the British peerage, or that they would have Irish titles conferred on them. The list is long and curious, as showing the extent to which the influence of the crown had been exerted; and it appears to have taken the ministry somewhat by surprise. On the 12th and 13th of June, the Duke of Port-

* In consequence of the secession of Mr. Fox and the extreme weakness of the Whig party, the opposition to the Union in the British Parliament was much less formidable than it was in Ireland. Lord Holland and Mr. Grey spoke against the measure; but they were supported by very small minorities.

land wrote to Lord Cornwallis, pretty clearly intimating that little or nothing could be done in the proposed way, and that his Lordship must try to find some other mode of satisfying the supporters of the Union. Both Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh were naturally indignant at this wholesale repudiation of their engagements. On the 17th, the former wrote a long "secret and confidential" letter, full of grief and indignation, to the Duke of Portland, restating the claims of some of the persons in his list, and intimating his intention of resigning unless he could perform his part of the bargain. His Majesty, he writes, "will, I am persuaded, see the necessity of my having entered into embarrassing engagements according to the various circumstances which occurred during the long and arduous contest, and if any of them should appear so strongly to merit his disapprobation as to induce him to withhold his consent to their being carried into effect, he will be pleased to allow me to retire from a station which I could no longer hold with honor to myself, or with any prospect of advantage to his service." The Correspondence of Lord Castlereagh affords abundant evidence of his indignation. "If the Irish government," he says in a letter to Lord Camden, the late Lord Lieutenant, "is not enabled to keep faith with the various individuals who have acted upon a principle of confidence in their honor, it is morally impossible that either Lord Cornwallis or myself can remain in our present situations; it will remain a breach of faith as injurious to the character of government as to our own, having given an assurance which we were not enabled to fulfil." These representations had the desired effect; the ministry yielded; and, with a few exceptions, the desired honors were conferred according to Lord Cornwallis's plan.

Little now remained to be done except to perfect the arrangements rendered necessary by the new order of things; and no event of much importance marked the few remaining months of his Lordship's government. With a view of affording greater security to the island in the event of an invasion, he recommended that two or three fortresses should be constructed in advantageous positions, to serve as a basis of operations for repelling such an attack, and for collecting

troops for the defence of the country. The plan was not carried out, however, and a similar recommendation was afterward brought forward by the Duke of Wellington, when Chief Secretary for Ireland. Another measure of even greater importance for the peace and security of Ireland was also frequently and strongly recommended to the ministry by Lord Cornwallis; but it was equally without success, though from a very different cause. At a very early period he had become convinced that the full benefit to be anticipated from the Union of England and Ireland could be obtained only by granting some concessions to the Catholics; and he appears to have given them encouragement that some concessions would be made. For this course Mr. Pitt and several of his principal associates in the administration were fully prepared; but in the bigotry of George III. an insuperable obstacle existed. The slightest reference to Catholic Emancipation was sufficient to unsettle his feeble and tottering intellect; and an attack of his malady at this time is commonly ascribed to the excitement occasioned by opening the Catholic Question. It was under these circumstances that Mr. Pitt and most of his more immediate supporters resigned, in the early part of 1801, and Mr. Addington, at that time Speaker of the House of Commons, became Prime Minister.

The reasons which induced Mr. Pitt's resignation, though often discussed, have never been satisfactorily ascertained; and probably it will always remain doubtful whether he resigned from an unwillingness to remain in office after he found that he could not grant the desired concessions to the Catholics, or from some other motive of a less honorable character.* The letters and other documents printed in the

* In the admirable sketch of the younger Pitt which Lord Macaulay has contributed to the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, he bestows high praise on Pitt's policy in regard to the Union and the Catholics; but he says nothing upon the subject of Pitt's resignation. It is true, indeed, that near the end of this account the great historian says: "The toast of Protestant ascendancy was drunk on Pitt's birthday by a set of Pittites, who could not but be aware that Pitt had resigned his office because he could not carry Catholic Emancipation." But probably nothing more is meant by this expression than would be involved in the statement, that Pitt made the king's refusal to grant the Catholic claims the pretext for his resignation. There can be no doubt that Mr. Pitt and his friends were

Cornwallis Correspondence furnish some additional evidence in regard to one point which was not at all doubtful before, — that Mr. Pitt was strongly in favor of granting relief to the Catholics; but beyond this the whole subject must still remain an open question. Nevertheless, the inability of the ministers to obtain the king's permission to bring forward any measure of the proposed character, was the reason assigned for their resignation. Their withdrawal from office on this ground afforded Lord Cornwallis the long-desired opportunity to return to England. So long as Ireland was in an unsettled state, he had been unwilling to expose government and the people to the dangers which he anticipated from any change of policy by his successor. But now that the Union had been carried, and was generally acquiesced in by both parties in Ireland, and his political friends were no longer at the head of affairs in England, he became anxious to relinquish a position which had always been extremely distasteful to him. At length his resignation was accepted, and Lord Hardwicke was appointed his successor. The new Lord Lieutenant did not arrive until the 25th of May, when he was immediately sworn into office, and Lord Cornwallis at once returned to England.

Thus terminated one of the ablest and most successful administrations which Ireland had known for centuries. By the wisdom and moderation of his policy, Lord Cornwallis had restored tranquillity to that distracted country. He had crushed a dangerous rebellion, and had given peace and security to the terrified inhabitants; he had carried the legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland against all oppo-

very desirous that this should be regarded as the true reason for their resignation. "The motives I and my colleagues have assigned for our resignation, drawn from the Popery Question," said Dundas to Sir James Mackintosh, "no historian will believe; and if any mentions it, he will treat it as a mere pretext to cover the real motive; and he will support his representation by very plausible arguments; yet nothing can be more true than that the reason we assigned was the real one." Yet the reasons for entertaining a different opinion are so strong, that one may well be pardoned for a little incredulity. If it is true that Pitt resigned on this account, his subsequent offer to continue in the Cabinet without pressing the question, and without communicating with his colleagues, was in the highest degree discreditable. The whole subject, however, is beset with difficulties; and in either view, Mr. Pitt's course is deserving of censure.

sition, though by means which would have better become the age of Sir Robert Walpole ; and he had laid a firm foundation for a better state of things. He had not, however, accomplished all that he desired, or all that he deemed essential for the future well-being of Ireland. The bigotry of George III. had prevented him from giving relief to the Catholic population ; and without a relaxation of the laws under which they groaned, he felt that his work was but half done. He had accomplished much, and for this he deserves to be held in lasting honor. But a great work still remained to be accomplished under happier auspices ; and it was natural that he should desire to seek repose at the close of an administration so crowded with memorable events.

But a new duty was before him. He had acted the first part in one of the most memorable transactions of Mr. Pitt's administration. He was now to act the first part in the most memorable transaction of Mr. Addington's administration. In the latter part of the year he was appointed the British plenipotentiary to negotiate the definitive treaty of peace with France, in accordance with the preliminary articles already arranged. Amiens was selected as the place of meeting ; and on the 3d of November he sailed from Dover, and immediately on reaching Calais he hastened at once to Paris. Here he was received with much honor, and spent between three and four weeks, during which time he had several interviews with the First Consul, but without entering into any direct negotiations. On the 30th he proceeded to Amiens to meet Joseph Bonaparte, who had been intrusted with the management of the negotiations on the part of France. The negotiations were steadily carried on ; but so numerous were the difficulties and delays, that it was not until the 27th of March, 1802, that the treaty was signed. The terms of this peace were much criticised in England at the time, and votes of censure were moved in Parliament by Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham ; but the popular feeling was strongly on the side of the treaty, and it was supported by most of the friends of both Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, as well as by the adherents of Mr. Addington. In the conduct of the negotiations Lord Cornwallis had exhibited much caution, and considerable clear-

ness and force of understanding; but beyond this very moderate degree of praise it is impossible to go. He had had no diplomatic training, and if he had not had frequent recourse to the home government, or if he had been obliged to deal with a more accomplished and abler man in the person of the French plenipotentiary, he would probably have made a much less creditable figure. As it was, he loses nothing by a comparison with the French envoy; and it must be conceded that the interests of his country suffered no injury from any neglect or want of foresight on his part.

Immediately on the conclusion of the peace he returned to England; and for the next three years he lived in comparative retirement, spending most of his time at Culford. In the Parliamentary business of the period, and in the intrigues which led to the overthrow of the feeble administration of Mr. Addington, he appears to have taken little or no part. A life of inaction was, however, far from congenial to him; and though he was advanced in years, and his health was much broken, he readily accepted the appointment of Governor-General of India to replace Lord Wellesley, whose policy had been equally distasteful to the East India Company and to the ministry.* Departing from the pacific policy of Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore, Lord Wellesley had entered into various subsidiary treaties, as they were called, which could scarcely fail to involve the Company in expensive wars growing out of the disputes of the native princes. At the same time he had indicated a determination to bring all the independent powers in India under British influence, and both by conquest and negotiation to extend the authority of the British name. Neither the Court of Directors, nor the Board of Control, then under the Presidency of Lord Castlereagh, was prepared to sanction this line of conduct; and early in 1805, as we have said, Lord Cornwallis was appointed Governor-General of India for the third time.

* Mr. Horner tells us in his Journal, that in June, 1804, he received an application from the East India Company to write a pamphlet explanatory "of the views now entertained in Leadenhall Street, with respect to the extension of their Eastern dominions, and an examination of the Governor-General's conduct in the late or present war against the Mahrattas." To this proposal he signified his assent, and he appears to have entered warmly into their views; but it is believed that the design was afterwards relinquished.

During the voyage out, his health gradually failed ; and when he arrived in Calcutta, on the 29th of July, his condition afforded little reason to hope that he would accomplish the duty he had undertaken. Yet his mental activity was unabated, and on the following day he was sworn into office. His first step was to adopt efficient measures for the restoration of peace ; and on the very day on which he took the oaths of office he wrote to Lord Lake, who was in command of the army acting against Holkar : “ It is my earnest desire, if it should be possible, to put an end to this most unprofitable and ruinous warfare ; and as the actual season of the rains must necessarily suspend any material military operations, I should wish that you would not engage in any act of aggression, unless it might appear to be necessary in order to secure your own army from *serious* danger, until I come to you, or you can have further communication with me.” These directions were repeated on the 4th of August ; and on the 8th, he left Calcutta for the Upper Provinces, in order to be nearer the scene of operations, and to take advantage of any favorable circumstances which might arise. During his voyage up the Ganges he declined in strength, though it was hoped by his friends and attendants that he might revive on reaching a cooler climate. But before reaching Ghazipore, in the province of Benares, where he arrived on the 27th of September, all hope of his recovery or amendment had vanished. There he died on the 5th of October, 1805, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and a little more than two months after his arrival in India.

The death of Lord Cornwallis occasioned a deep and nearly universal sense of loss throughout India. In Calcutta a public meeting was at once held, and a subscription was raised to defray the expense of erecting a mausoleum to his memory at Ghazipore. To this object the citizens of Bombay likewise contributed, and they also determined to procure a statue for a conspicuous place in their own city, as a further tribute of their admiration.* A statue had been erected in Madras

* Sir James Mackintosh was one of the committee appointed to carry out this intention. The letter which he wrote to Mr. Flaxman in regard to the proposed statue is printed at length in the first volume of the Life of Mackintosh by his son,

some years before, and there it was decided to give expression to the public feelings by building a cenotaph to his memory. In England, Lord Castlereagh moved in the House of Commons that a commemorative statue should be placed in St. Paul's Cathedral; and in accordance with this proposition a monument was subsequently erected there, which has been greatly admired on account of the beauty of some of its allegorical representations. In addition to these various tributes of sincere respect for Lord Cornwallis's administrative capacity, and his fidelity in the discharge of every duty, the East India Company voted a grant of £40,000 to his family. During his life honors and emoluments had been freely granted to him; and a cordial recognition of his claims to the gratitude of his countrymen marked the close of his long and patriotic career.

He was not, it is true, a man of great original capacity. Nor were his powers much cultivated by early education. Yet he possessed considerable intellectual force, and great tenacity of purpose. Though he was often appointed to difficult and responsible positions, he seldom failed to exhibit the necessary ability for the prompt and efficient performance of his various duties. His character was pure and upright; and his integrity was unquestioned. His political opinions were moderate; his temper was pacific, though he was trained to a military career; and in general he was humane and liberal in his treatment of other men. His life was rich in opportunities for rendering great public services; and his name is inseparably connected with some of the most important events in English history.

and contains some judicious observations on the character of the late Marquis. "I need not tell you," he says, "that the character of Marquis Cornwallis was more respectable than dazzling. . . . Prudence, moderation, integrity, pacific spirit, clemency, were very remarkable qualities in Marquis Cornwallis's character." Referring to the Zemindar Settlement, he adds, "It was a noble measure of paternal legislation, though I know not whether it could be represented in marble." It is also stated in the Life of Mackintosh, that Sir James wrote the sermon preached at Bombay after the death of Lord Cornwallis, and subsequently printed under the name of the Senior Chaplain. We presume that the Character of Lord Cornwallis in Mackintosh's Miscellaneous Works is taken from this discourse.